

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ADDIS 01845 01 OF 02 221232Z  
ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 /019 W  
-----017498 221448Z /14

P 220834Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8143

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 1845

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AF FOR HARROP AND AF/E FOR POST

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PEPR, ET, US  
SUBJ: POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS WITH MOFA PERMSEC DAWIT

1. AS REPORTED SEPTEL, MAJOR DAWIT WILL BE IN NEW YORK FOR UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA. THOUGHT OCCURS THAT DICK MOOSE OR EITHER ONE OF YOU MAY WISH TO CONTACT HIM THERE AND TRY TO GET MOST IMPORTANT VIEWS ACROSS IN A GENERAL REVIEW OF ETHIO-US BILATERAL RELATIONS. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ANYONE LESS INTIMATELY ACQUAINTED WITH CURRENT PROBLEMS SHOULD UNDERTAKE TASK. I MAKE THIS SUGGESTION BECAUSE, DESPITE MOFA AMERICAS DIVISION HEAD BERHANE DERESSE'S (PLEASE DO NOT MENTION TO DAWIT) ATTEMPTS TO PROMOTE SUCH A MEETING BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER FELLEKE OR DAWIT WITH ME, IT APPEARS UNLIKELY TO COME ABOUT SOON UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS IS PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF THEIR DESIRE TO DEMONSTRATE LOCALLY PMGSE DISPLEASURE WITH USG, PARTIALLY BECAUSE THEY FEEL THAT HAVING TO REPORT STRONG US POSITIONS TO DIRG WILL ONLY EXACERBATE RELATIONS AND BUTTRESS MOST ANTI-WESTERN ELEMENTS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE

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SECRET

PAGE 02 ADDIS 01845 01 OF 02 221232Z

BOTH ARE IN FACT BUSY WITH WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE HIGHER PRIORITY BUSINESS, I.E., FELLEKE'S TRIP WITH MENGISTU TO CUBA AND DAWIT'S TRIP TO NEW YORK AND THEN DIRECTLY TO KABUL FOR NAM CONFERENCE. FOR SAME REASONS, IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO DELIVER PROTEST OVER REQUEST FOR MALIN RECALL, BUT I SHALL TRY AGAIN FOR ACTING FONMIN BERHANU DINKA NEXT WEEK.

2. ALTHOUGH DAWIT HAS SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE MORE ACCESSIBLE TO AMERICANS IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON THAN IN ADDIS -- AND HE MAY BE SO AGAIN -- WE SHOULD BEWARE OF HIS ACCOMODATING STYLE. TIME AND TIME AGAIN IN PAST HE HAS SENT FAVORABLE SIGNALS TO US, BRITISH AND OTHER WESTERNERS -- BOTH ON SPECIFIC ISSUES SUCH AS AGREEMENT AND EXIT VISA FOR ETHIOPIAN FIANCEE OF USG EMPLOYEE -- ONLY TO FAIL ENTIRELY TO CARRY THROUGH WITH OUR EXPECTATIONS. HE CONSTANTLY MAKES REASSURANCES AT VERY TOP LEVELS (OWEN AND FORLANI) THAT MENGISTU SEEKS TO STRENGTHEN TIES TO WEST AND NEEDS AID FROM ALL, BUT WE ALL HAVE PRECIOUS LITTLE TO SHOW FOR IT.

3. ALTHOUGH DAWIT IS NOT A PRIMARY DECISION MAKER, HE CERTAINLY HAS SOME INFLUENCE IN DIRG, PROBABLY EXCEEDING FOREIGN MINISTER'S, AND HE COULD HAVE MODERATED MANY OF EXAGGERATED STATEMENTS AGAINST US, UK AND OTHERS HAD HE REALLY WANTED TO. AT THIS MOMENT, DAWIT IS PARTICULARLY VOCAL, HIMSELF, IN EXPRESSING PMGSE PIQUE AT OWEN, AND IS TAKING GENERALLY HARD-LINE "RADICAL" APPROACH ON MANY FOREIGN POLICY AND BILATERAL ISSUES WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES. IT IS RUMORED THAT DAWIT IS HAVING SOME PROBLEMS WITH MORE RADICAL DIRG MEMBERS INTERNALLY AND MAY IN FACT BE HEWING TO HARDLINE FOREIGN POLICY TO SHORE-UP HIS STANDING WITH THEM. AS RESULT HE MAY PRIVATELY EXPRESS CONCILIATORY STANCE BUT IT IS UNLIKELY HE WILL DIVERGE FROM HARDLINE APPROACH WITH PMGSE.

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SECRET

PAGE 03 ADDIS 01845 01 OF 02 221232Z

4. NEVERTHELESS, WE FEEL NO HARM AND SOME GOOD COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY ANOTHER HEART-TO-HEART WITH DAWIT IN ENVIRONMENT MORE CONGENIAL TO IMPROVED US-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH DEPT HAS FULL REPORTS ON UPS AND DOWNS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS SINCE AARON MISSION VISIT, FOLLOWING OUTLINE MAY BE USEFUL:

A. FEB 19 - (DAY FOLLOWING AARON DEPARTURE) -- EDITORIAL CRITICAL OF PRESIDENT'S WARNING THAT ETHIOPIAN CROSSING OF SOMALIA BORDER WOULD BE SERIOUS THREAT TO WORLD PEACE.

B. MARCH 2 - FAIRLY NON-POLEMIC MENGISTU SPEECH AT ADOWA DAY CEREMONIES.

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 01845 02 OF 02 221441Z  
ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 /019 W  
-----019076 221448Z /42

P 220834Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8144

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 1845

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C. BERHANE DERESSA RAISES AMB YOUNG'S NEWSWEEK COMMENTS ON HORN WITH CHARGE. BERHANE SAID, "STRONG PUBLIC PROTEST WAS PREPARED, BUT MOFA EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS STATEMENT SUCCESSFUL ON BASIS IT BETTER TO RAISE ISSUE" THROUGH DIP CHANNELS.

D. MARCH 11 - MOFA COMMUNIQUE, DISPUTING THAT ANY COUNTRIES HAD BEEN INFLUENTIAL IN HASTENING SOMALI WITHDRAWAL. FORCE OF ARMS DID IT ALL.

E. MARCT 19 - BEGINNING OF PRESS ACCUSATIONS THAT US IS TO PROVIDE ARMS TO SOMALIA TO ENCOURAGE SIAD TO UNLEASH ANOTHER WAR OF AGGRESSION. FOLLOWED UP BY BERHANE DERESSA WARNING TO CHARGE MARCH 25 OF "GRAVE CONSEQUENCES" IF, AS PMGSE HAD REASON TO BELIEVE, USG IS PROVIDING ARMS TO SOMALIA WITHOUT WAITING FOR GSDR ASSURANCES ON NOT DISHONORING FRONTIERS.

F. MARCH 24 - ETHIO-CUBAN COMMUNIQUE, FOLLOWING CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT, "CONDEMNED CRIMINAL BLOCKAGE BY US IMPERIALISM AGAINST CUBA."

G. MARCP 26 - MOFA STATEMENT ACCUSING US OF CONSPIRING WITH SECRET

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 01845 02 OF 02 221441Z

SOMALIA TO PERMIT HER TO ANNEX DJIBOUTI. PRESS CHARGES CONTINUED OVER NEXT FEW DAYS.

H. APRIL 3 - MININFO STATEMENT, CLAIMING "PROVOCATING" US, UK, FRENCH NAVAL MANEUVERS OF ETHIOPIAN COAST.

I. APRIL 6 - ETHIOPIAN HERALD EDITORIAL (ERSTWHILE MOFA STATEMENT) CRITICIZING PRESIDENT'S LAGOS REMAKRS ON ERITREA,

LUMPING TOGETHER PAST ACCUSATIONS, AND CLAIMING US-BACKED ATTEMPTS TO DESTABILIZE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION FROM NORTH.

J. APRIL 6 - PMAC SECGEN FIKRE-SELASSIE'S VICTORY DAY SPEECH TWICE QUESTIONING VALUE OF CONTINUING DIP RELATIONS WITH US AND DISTORTING CURRENT AND HISTORIC US HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD.

K. APRIL 7 - ACCORDING TO FONMIN WAIYAKI, DIRG WOULD CONSIDER QUESTION OF AGREEMENT FOR US AMBASSADOR AT NEXT MEETING DESPITE REPEATED ASSURNACES TO US THAT DELAY WAS PURELY BUREAUCRATIC AFFAIR.

L. APRIL 17 - REQUEST THAT STATE DEPT RECALL POLCOUNS MALIN.

M. PRESS DURING WEEK APRIL 16 HAS BEEN CURIOUSLY QUIET ON US, REASONS FOR WHICH ARE NOT CLEAR. SECRETARY'S LONDON REMARKS, FOR EXAMPLE, WENT UNMENTIONED (NORMALLY A CAUSE OF VITRIOLIC COUNTERATTACK) AND PMGSE HAS OBVIOUSLY DECIDED NOT TO MAKE REQUEST FOR MALIN RECALL A PUBLIC ISSUE.

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## Message Attributes

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